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VOL. XV. No. 5.

THE TRAUTMANN CASE

HOW THEY ARE "SMASHING" SOCIALISM AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

Capitalist Politicians in the Union's Executive Board Act as "Judge, Jury and Executioner," and Ride Rough-shod Over the Referendum Fiat of the Rank and File, Obeying to the Civic Federalized Gompers Crew.

Cincinnati, April 26.—When on April 17th the Associated Press dispatches carried forward the statement, as contained in the Cincinnati Enquirer of that date with the following big headlines:—**SOCIALISM IS BEING STAMPED OUT BY THE LEADERS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM WILL BE COMPLETELY ERADICATED. DEPOSITION OF EDITOR TRAUTMANN WILL BE FOLLOWED BY SIMILAR ACTION IN OTHER CASES.**—the press did not hesitate at the same time to publish the statements of the General Executive Board of the United Brewery Workers, but failed, after signed and sworn to statements were presented them for rebuttal, to inform the world of labor that the stamping out act was only accomplished by an atrocious crime, as perhaps seldom witnessed in the annals of the labor movement of America, so filled with chapters of appalling mischiefs and outrages.

In behalf of the General Executive Board of the United Brewery Workers, Mr. Priesterbach gives a signed statement, to wit:

"RECEIVED AN ULTIMATUM."

"We deposed Trautmann because we do not propose to let him or those who think with him on the subject of Industrial Unionism wreck on the rocks of Socialism our international organization which it has taken us many years to build up and perfect.
"We deposed him at our meeting in January last, but he appealed to a referendum vote of the general membership, which endorsed our stand, and when the result of the vote was delivered Saturday, Trautmann was told to step down and out."

The Executive Board of the United Brewery Workers International Union admit that they have received an ultimatum from the officials of the American Federation of Labor that "Trautmann should either resign his position as Secretary of the National Industrial Union, or else be deposed as Editor of the Brauer Zeitung, and if this mandate was not obeyed the Brewery Workers' International Union would be expelled from the American Federation of Labor."

This gives the kernel in the nutshell. Not only borne out by the strongest evidence, in spite of the denial of the International Executive Board next day, but also in startling derision of the expressed will of the membership of the United Brewery Workers, who, by 1261 votes majority on a referendum, instituted purely on a question of principles, sustained the editor, it has been demonstrated that the issue involved was that of "smashing Socialism in the union movement of this country."

Let the Socialists know that neither Mr. Kemper, one of the International secretaries of the U. B. W., nor Mr. Priesterbach, both of whom are the instruments of the Gompers machine in the Brewery Workers' organization, is connected with either Socialist party, or known to be non-partisan Socialists. PRIESTERBACH IS A BRILLIANT LIGHT IN THE JEFFERSON DEMOCRATIC PARTY CLUB OF ST. LOUIS, TOGETHER WITH SEVERAL BREWERY PROPRIETORS OF THAT CITY.

Nor is one of the International Executive Board members of the United Brewery Workers, who were responsible for Trautmann's deposition, with two exceptions, members of any one of the Socialist political or economic parties. These exceptions are members from Milwaukee, Wis., who acted apparently under certain instructions, for which statement bears evidence the fact that before the total vote was computed the Social Democratic Herald knew already and heralded it out, that the editor of the Brauer Zeitung, a "traitorous man," had been deposed.

How could an organization, known to be composed of a large number of Socialists reach such a conclusion, or how could a General Executive Board, supposed to bow to the mandates of the rank and file, become such pliant instru-

laughter from the others. In such a serious matter as the referendum vote in Trautmann's case to make such silly remarks and show scorn of the will of the membership so brazenly and openly is simply condemnable, and the members have a right to learn these things.

Striking as it is, that foremostly in such unions in which members of the Executive Board hold membership, such flagrant, vicious and abject violation of the constitutional laws of our International Unions are carried on, this only serves as an object lesson that the plain-tiffs of Trautmann wanted to change the judgment in the case, which rests in the referendum of the membership, in such a manner and wanted to make it subject to their intents, with all foul means, that we must call attention to this incident unique in the records of the labor movement.

This document, by being released to the membership of the International Union of United Brewery Workers, contains the manly expression of two members who went through three long lasting strikes and lockouts, and who wanted to play fair and impartial in this case, and intend to do so hereafter.

This, in our judgment, will, so we hope, arouse the membership so that they may make such preparations that an end be forever put to such fraudulent procedures in the International Union of United Brewery Workers, lest the referendum, instead of being a measure of protection, might become a farce and an instrument to prop up a padroni system, which may hold its cruel whip over the heads which dare to revolt at this injustice, and are loath to submitting to the will of machines and bosses in an organization.

When the forcible ejection was consummated, on Saturday, April 15th, the supposed-to-be "smashers of Socialism and Industrial Unionism," could not proceed further in the humiliation of a man who had to fight them because they were elected on the supposition of being ardent Socialists, while in reality supporters of old parties, than to search the private papers and belongings, forcibly, as one could not stand up against twelve of them, before he was allowed to leave. It was known to them and so to Gompers that Trautmann had collected evidence of corruption in most of the International Unions connected with the A. F. of L., and to get these valuable papers they first subjected the defenseless to this humiliation as described, and then offered any price to get these clippings, as they called them, and so when unsuccessful to get them by the offer of bribe, money not belonging to them, they came out with threats. But in anticipation of what was planned these important documents had been stored away in the hands of an attorney, and the smashing act of Socialism was frustrated; on those lines at least.

If Mr. Gompers and his followers, desperate as they have become, and the capitalist press now supporting them vigorously, find any comfort in the fact that such fraudulent, desperate and outrageous procedures are necessary in the smashing process, we will not begrudge them this delight, but neither will Socialism nor the sound principles of Industrial Unionism, with all germs of corruption eradicated, which by its tolerance has made of the officials in the American Federation of Labor a handmaid of capitalism, as most of them are, able to stem the tide of progress. They see the handwriting on the wall foreshadowing the events impending, when the workers, looking for truth and longing for solidarity upon the economic battlefield, will throw overboard such misleaders and disrupters, and form and present, line up and complete a solid phalanx in their war of defense against the encroachments of the master class, and the battle of attack against the strongholds of the capitalist system of society.

Once more has the A. F. of L. and its capitalistic supporters found pliant tools to overthrow, to repudiate, to ignore and to deride the will of the rank and file—be it the last time.

WM. E. TRAUTMANN.

MAY DAY IN ITALY.

Ferrara, May 1.—May Day was celebrated here with fetes, lectures and meetings.

Florence, May 1.—Meetings were held here to-day to protest against the Government's large expenditures for military purposes and against the grain duties.

Milan, May 1.—The usual May Day procession here was abandoned for fear that it might rise to disorders.

INDUSTRIAL UNITY

Detroit Workmen Discuss Its Necessity and Principles.

Mr. Octavo M. Held, the speaker of the evening who addressed the fourth educational meeting of the Architectural Wire, Iron and Metal Workers' Union, No. 4, of Detroit, Mich., April 24, said: "That the conclusions of the great Karl Marx were 'Workingmen of all countries unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains.' You have a world to gain. How, then, shall we unite in order to lose those chains?"

The toilers seem to be awakening to the fact that they have become a commodity, and that the present craft trade unions are unable to cope with the situation that confronts them. They recognize that the small hand tool of the individual of by-gone days has developed into a social affair, dividing the people into two classes, that is, the wage earners, who use the tool, and the capitalist class, who own the tool. The wage earners may use the tool to create profits. When developed into a trust it becomes a good thing for the few who are on the inside (the capitalists). Then it would be a blessing to the many if the working class owned and received the benefit of the trusts.

We know "that the greater the wealth of the capitalist class the greater the poverty of the working class." We find men in the labor movement of to-day who are true to the rank and file, because the organizations are organized on the presumption that "the interests of Labor and Capital are identical."—But if this is true, then when the capitalist class becomes richer, the working class must necessarily become richer also; but, alas, you are aware that this is not true. Therefore we must understand that the labor organizations of to-day are capitalist organizations. We know from bitter experience that the interests of Labor and Capital are not identical. We also know that when the workers are organized along true industrial lines they will aim to own their product, for the toilers realize that there is a class who do nothing, yet live in palaces; while the workers who produce all that which makes life worth the living are not even allowed the privilege of admiring their magic art. We also find that the strikes of some of our trade autonomy unions, apparently inaugurated to increase wages, in fact, develop as a means to lower them, a la Subway strike in New York of late.

Mr. Held also cited the great Bessemer steel strike of 1898-99 against a reduction of twenty-five per cent., during which members of the same organization in Joliet scabbed it upon their brothers on strike in Pueblo, and vice versa. How then can these organizations represent the interests of the working class? The true industrial union must be organized on the principle of "An Injury to One Is the Concern of All," to be centralized under one head and will be looked upon to lead to the emancipation of the wage worker, and on the industrial field will take advantage of all means to bring about this object.

To-day we know that the power of the State, militia, police and press have always been in the employ of those whose interests are opposed to those of the working class. The capitalist class is aware that if all the wage earners become alive to this fact, and make a stand consistent with their interests, it will sound the death knell of the present system of capitalism. They, therefore, will place obstacle after obstacle in our way. But they will be overcome and it is for this reason that all forces should unite. We should be as one irrespective of what organization we are members of, and remain cool-headed; for the organization that must meet these new conditions must be an organization of the working class only.

The industrial union is a recognition of the fact that "trades are being abolished and that we are becoming industries. When the working class recognizes this and ITS POLITICAL POWER, then we will have our militia and police to protect us from whomsoever might endeavor to defeat our aim, for the means do justify the end."

During the discussion which followed the attention of those present was called to a fact which many a workman is not aware of, and that is "that a law has been passed within the last two years which, in fact, makes every citizen a member of the militia," not only demonstrating the value of these discussions, but also reminding us "that precious things are found by much diving, and

that the real treasures of earth are never found on the surface."

Mr. Charles Erb will address the next meeting Monday, May 8, beginning at nine o'clock p. m. Subject:—"Trades Unions and Their Needs." Meetings are held at Becker's Hall, corner of Antoine street and Adams avenue.
Free discussion. Admission free. You are welcome.

EUROPEAN UNIONISM.

Pure and Simple Trades Unions on Continent Working Against Socialism.

[From the Edinburgh, Scotland, "Socialist".]

Of late several occurrences seem to point to the fact that the same retrogressive and reactionary type of trade unionism which has to be combatted by the Socialist Labor Party in all English speaking countries, has raised its ugly head upon the Continent. The brilliant statement of Robert Michels on "The Dangers of the German Social Democratic Party", translated and reprinted in these columns, from Le Mouvement Socialiste, which revealed the facts that the German Unions were steeped in revisionism, that they exercised a backward influence upon the party, and that they aped the "pure and simple" unions of Britain, was calculated to open the eyes of those who thought that the continental unions were radically different from those which are dominant in this country, America and Australia. The same facts are revealed, although more indirectly, by an article contributed to a New York paper, by the Guesdist, A. Bruckere. The writer gives a survey of the Trade Union Movement in France, and states that the strongest and most influential and increasing element in it is represented by the Confederation of Labor, an organization opposed to all political action and officered by anarchists and anti-parliamentarians. He refers to this organization as being "revolutionary", but if we are to judge from the articles written by its officers, and the use which they make of this much abused term, its aims seem to bear the same relation to those of a real revolutionary economic organization of the workers as a quantum of raspberry vinegar in a solution of seidlitz powder bears to a whiskey and soda. When one sees the expression "revolutionnaire" used in connection with the eight hour day, the union label and "le sabotage" (the ca'canny policy), one begins to wonder if, after all, there isn't something in the notion of the British phillistine, that a Paris "revolutionnaire" is a man who gets up on a cafe table, lets down his back hair, and screams. It is regrettable too, that M. Bruckere confines himself to a mere academic survey of the French Trade Union movement (which he estimates as having a membership of about three quarters of a million workers), and refrains from giving his personal views on the subject, or suggesting what policy his own party should adopt in order to meet this unparliamentarian move. That some definite policy must be adopted, and that in the very near future, is proved by the result of the electoral contest at Ceret (Pyrenees Orientales) reported in "Le Socialiste," the official organ of the Guesdists, and the reason therein given for the defeat of the Socialist candidate. In this contest four candidates appeared. The vote was as follows:

Dr. Pujade (radical) 3,484; Marcel Huart (radical Socialist) 1,800; Hostalrich (radical) 1,420; and the candidate of the Parti Socialiste de France (Guesdist), Joseph Coste, 1398.

The defeat is explained as follows: "But for a manoeuvre at the last moment, directed by the Federation of Unions of Boulon against the proletarian and Socialist candidate, the party would have secured quite a different result." This is quite a common phenomenon in America and Britain, but in France it seems quite a new experience. It remains to be seen how the Socialist Party of France will meet its new adversary.

H. McK.

LABOR DAY IN FRANCE.

Paris, May 1.—Labor Day was observed throughout France. The trades unions of Paris held a monster meeting and adopted resolutions in favor of an eight-hour day.

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INTERNATIONAL LABOR DAY

OF MODERN ECONOMIC ORIGIN—WHY AND HOW IT IS CELEBRATED

International May or Labor Day is a very modern institution. It would have been an impossibility in ancient or medieval times. Then there were no great industrial nations with daily communication, commerce and competition. Then the language of the Communist Manifesto, that "The bourgeoisie has, through its exploitation of the world's markets, given a cosmopolitan character to production and distribution in every country," could have had no application. Nor could it then be said that this same exploitation has given a cosmopolitan character to the struggle of the wage working class with the capitalist class, thereby giving a cosmopolitan character also to working class aspirations and creating International May or Labor Day.

Generally speaking then, International May or Labor Day is an outgrowth of the international economic relations that are characteristic of modern or capitalist society. The modern Chauvinist, or Jingo, may deride "the red International" and loudly proclaim his love of nationalism, but the very national development upon which he so strongly prides himself, by compelling international commerce and the struggle for commercial supremacy in foreign markets, is hastening his patriotism to its own destruction and making "the red International" a fact that no amount of sneering can dissipate or overcome. Specifically speaking, International May or Labor Day is the Socialist Labor Day. It stands in marked contradistinction to the September Labor Day that is so extensively a legal holiday in this country. The latter is a capitalist Labor Day—a day granted by capitalist legislation and devoted to the perpetuation of capitalist exploitation and wage slavery. The former is the day on which the workingmen and women who recognize the world-wide character of modern economics, meet to proclaim once more their common aspirations, exchange fraternal greetings and compare notes on the work that has been done and must still be done to advance their great cause, namely, the ending of the exploitation of labor by capital, and the war of classes and nations born of it, through the social ownership and operation of capital. To express the same thought in still another way, International May or Labor Day is the day on which those who believe that industrial evolution, having made the tools of production and distribution social in character, also requires that these tools be social in ownership, if society is to progress, meet to devise ways and means of hastening this evolution as the circumstances in their respective countries may demand. In far away Russia and Japan, in nearby Canada, in continental Europe, in Great Britain and the distant Antipodes, in every State of the American Union, and in a few South American nations, International May or Labor Day is the day on which class hatred and commercial war are denounced, and fraternal co-operation and international emulation via International Socialism are exalted.

In far away Russia, the Socialists, despite the terrors of the knout, the horrors of barbarous incarceration, and the fearful atrocities of race hatred and bureaucratic reaction, are making great headway. Favored by the blind illiberality of Russian autocracy, which makes revolt an imperative condition necessary to decent existence, and the industrial development of certain provinces and cities, which produce modern economic classes, Socialism has gained such vast numbers of recruits among the Russian workmen as to give the revolutionary movement in Russia a proletarian basis for the first time in its existence, and to change the trend of social effort from retaliative terrorism to peaceful and constructive propaganda. The Socialists of Russia organize strikes for the improvement of shop conditions, and as a demonstration in favor of education, free press and personal and political liberty. Just now, true to their international sympathies, they are striving to end the Russo-Japanese war; and are laboring by all the means within their reach to encompass the defeat of the Czar, fully confident that a disastrous climax to the present conflict with Japan, will end in the granting of those constitutional demands which they deem the necessary preliminaries to the achievement of the

Democratic Socialism which is the aim of every Socialist.

The Socialists of this country delight in talking about the sacrifices they make for the cause. They are as nothing compared to the sacrifices made by their co-workers in Russia. Here, if a thug "slugs" us for exposing him in the union, or if we are arrested while speaking on the street by some officious policeman who thinks he is the constitution of the United States and the sole regulator of free speech, or if we are black-listed or ostracized, we put ourselves on the back and think we are martyrs and much to be pitied. But in Russia—what a difference! There whole families are ruthlessly knouted, bayoneted, slaughtered and imprisoned. Physical annihilation is the method of the Russian autocracy and the reward of the Russian Socialists. Yet they flinch not, nor do they quail. When duty calls they bravely respond to her cruel and exacting call. All honor to these intrepid men and women—these heroes and martyrs of Socialism.

In Japan, a few men, far in advance of that rapidly advancing country, defy the modern capitalist spirit which furnishes its great impetus, to denounce the war, to circulate Russian Socialist literature among Japan's Russian prisoners, and to exchange fraternal greetings with their Russian comrades. As such actions at such times invoke the risk of death for treason, we say all honor to our brave comrades of Japan. They, too, are not upholstered chair "martyrs."

If we turn next to Europe, we behold a conflict in which the barbarous methods and physical annihilation practiced by the Czar give way to intellectual chicanery and political duplicity. In Germany, France, Belgium, Italy, Spain and Great Britain a lot of comparatively third rate theoreticians have been busy revising Marx, re-writing the "Communist Manifesto" and "Capital," without a recognition of the true import of either, and in a manner well calculated to further the interests of Capitalism more than those of Socialism. These theoreticians foisted upon the movement in Europe the policy of opportunism. The advocates of this policy believe they can use the capitalist class to advance working class interests, if the dangers and needs of capitalism are manipulated in the interests of the working class at the opportune time. The result is that they are the ones used. This was the fate of Millerand. Forced into the Waldeck-Rousseau ministry by a faction of French Socialists, who utilized the alleged dangers to which the French Republic was exposed during the Dreyfus agitation, Millerand was used by that same ministry to shoot down strikers at Chailons and elsewhere. The opportunists were made an agency of working class repression, instead of Capitalist destruction! Such is the fate of compromise!

Opposed to the opportunist are the men and the women who declare that the struggle growing out of the opposing interests of the capitalist and the working classes cannot be ended by compromise. They point to the tendencies of capitalism—its constant flux and reflux—trustification, crises and world struggles—which are creating conditions of increased instability, uncertainty, poverty and suffering, while extending the corruption, wealth, power and parasitism of the capitalist class. Such conditions make capitalist concessions of small temporary value only, while preparing the soil for Socialism and the steady revolutionary course that will lead to the final overthrow of Capitalism.

These Socialists have made and are making a valiant and winning fight. Already a reaction against opportunism is evident. This is clearly shown in the defeat of Jaures at the Amsterdam convention last year. The Guesdists, the anti-opportunists of France, were then vindicated by the action of their European co-workers.

If we leave Europe and come to the States composing the American union, we meet with the same division, the same controversy, in Socialist ranks. Here, the theoreticians and opportunists are diluting and interpreting Marx so as to include the small manufacturer and the farmer—the embryo big oppressors and exploiters of labor—in the working class movement. Here the opportunists

(Continued on page 3.)

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"Wages"—An Echo of "Wages, Marriage And The Church"

The below question, answer, reply and rejoinder will speak for themselves. They will help to confirm both economic principle and the tactical use of terms.

I.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—In Reform and Revolution, by D. De Leon, in answer to a question by Mr. Dooley, D. De Leon states that "Wages are the price of labor." This is stated repeatedly. Why so?

The statement is ambiguous, since you further state that "Labor stands on the same footing as any other commodity."

The question is a technicality of economic (Marxian) terms but, nevertheless, specifically important, as it is absolutely necessary for the revolutionary proletariat to know exactly what are wages, in order to be correctly guided in their fight for the overthrow of the wage system.

We cannot be too exact in the terms we use in our economic teachings.

Why publish such answers at the present advanced stage of the development of economic knowledge in the ranks of the S. L. P.

I take it for granted that D. De Leon would not make such statements nowadays.

However, I await a reply in the Letter Box.

Query No. 2. Is the New York Labor News Company the property of the S. L. P. I understand it is, but I wish to have it from an authentic source.

As one who does not believe in giving necessary publicity to such serious errors despite the fact that the pamphlet referred to above, possesses high educational value, I remain, in the cause of the workers,

David M. Halliday.

Roslyn, Wash.

II.

(Sunday People, March 12, and Weekly People, March 25.)

D. M. H., ROSLYN, WASH.—The statement "wages are the price of labor" (meaning labor-power) should not be considered ambiguous; and the following sentence—"Labor (meaning labor-power) stands on the same footing as any other commodity"—so far from making the first statement more ambiguous, makes it absolutely clear. A commodity is a thing sold in the market. Seeing that labor-power is sold in the labor-market, labor-power is on the same footing with any other commodity. What a commodity sells for is its price. Seeing that labor-power is sold by its owner, the workingman, for wages, it follows that wages are the price of labor-power. Seeing, furthermore, that labor-power is part and parcel of the seller (the workingman) and that the workingman is generally referred to as labor, "wages are the price of labor." Nothing ambiguous about that. Next question next week.

III.

A REPLY TO EDITOR OF "THE PEOPLE."

Since the breaking up of primitive tribal communism, i. e., the dawn of civilization

ization on through the different epochs of human society, none of the methods of economic production have been analyzed to anything like the extent to which the present capitalist system of wealth production has been analyzed.

Furthermore, no economic system has had so many complications and intricacies and was consequently so difficult to analyze as is the capitalist system, the real nature of which is hidden behind the phenomena "wages."

Under the first stage of human slavery, which was chattel slavery, there were, practically speaking, no complications in the method of wealth production. The chattel slaves knew that they were abject slaves and that their mental and physical capabilities were the sole property of their master and that by virtue of said ownership the master appropriated the product of their toil over and above the maintenance of his slaves.

Under feudalism, the stage of human slavery which followed chattel slavery, it required no keen perception on the part of the slave of that economic system, i. e., the feudal serf, to know that he (the serf) worked three days per week for himself and the remainder of the week for his master, the feudal baron. Over and above the subsistence of the serf the product of his toil went to the storehouses and granaries of the feudal lord.

Unfortunately, it is not so with the modern slave of the wage system, who generally thinks he is a free man. The form under which the modern proletarian receives remuneration for services rendered his employer, e. g., when he receives wages for work performed by him, hides from him the real secret of capitalist exploitation. He feels that when he receives his wages he has been paid for his labor. Hence all his efforts at bettering his economic conditions are spent in the trades union movement trying to advance his wages, with that as the ultimate goal to be reached.

To those members of the working class, however, who are students of Karl Marx (the man who revolutionized economic science), and who have studied Marx's "Capital," a critical analysis of capitalist production, the present economic system reads like an open book. The workingman who has so studied cannot be fooled by the statement that "Wages are the price of labor."

With the above preface I will now come to the point I wish to get at.

In the pamphlet "Reform and Revolution," a lecture delivered by Daniel De Leon, the Editor of The People, he states, in answer to a question by Mr. Dooley, that "Wages are the price of labor." This being a statement fit for a pure and simple trades unionist and not the Editor of The People, I, a few weeks ago, sent a question to Letter Box of The People, asking if "Wages are the price of labor," and if "Labor is a commodity" are correct statements.

Because a man is considered an authority on scientific Socialism is no reason why I should take his reply to my query as final, since I have studied Marx and I hope I have reached the stage of intellectual development necessary to a correct comprehension of Marx's masterpiece, i. e., "Capital," and know positively that the aforementioned statements are scientifically unsound.

If I am wrong in the premises, then to use current American parlance, "I am from Missouri, you've got to show me."

I am for soundness in our economic teachings. If I am not sound then it is a specific wish on my part, to be absolutely sound, in economic knowledge.

To state that "Wages are the price of labor" and to further state in an evident attempt to patch up the matter, that "Wages are the price of labor (meaning labor power)," only makes matters worse, as it shows the entire mixing up and consequently misuse of the two terms.

When Marx talks of the commodity which the proletarian sells on the market, he states specifically that it is labor power as contradistinguished from labor. To prove this I will take what I consider some judicious extracts from Marx dealing with the point under discussion.

If you look up page 120 of the Students' Marx by Dr. Ed. Aveling which is an authentic summary of "Capital," since Aveling translated a considerable portion of "Capital" from the original, and the chapter I have reference to in particular, you will find the definition of "Wages" as follows: "On the surface the wage of the laborer appears to be that which it is not, viz: the price of labor. It is really the price of LABOR POWER."

Again on page 547 of "Capital" you will find the following: "That which comes directly face to face with the possessor of money on the market, is in fact not labor but the laborer. What the latter sells is his labor power. As soon as his labor begins it has ceased to belong to him, it can therefore no longer be sold by him. Labor is the substance and the imminent measure of value but has itself no value."

Marx's definition of labor power is as follows: By labor power or capacity for labor is to be understood the aggregate of those mental and physical capabilities existing in a human being which he exercises whenever he produces a use-value of any description. Page 145, "Capital."

Again Marx says of labor power and labor in reply to Rossi, a bourgeois economist: "When we speak of capacity for labor we do not speak of labor any more than when we speak of capacity for digestion, we speak of digestion." See "Capital," page 152.

Since receiving your reply to my query, I have carefully perused several chapters of Marx's "Capital," and I find that the terms labor power and labor are not by a long way synonymous terms, as you have stated, but instead are two different and distinct economic terms, and both come into play at two different periods of the labor process.

You confuse labor power with labor in the same manner as the bourgeois economists, as Marx termed them. (See Student's Marx, page 39.)

A correct knowledge of wages, labor power and labor is absolutely essential to the scientific Socialist in order that he may be able to tell the workers just where they are robbed and how they are robbed. He who does not know the exact use of these economic terms cannot possibly know the meaning of value and of surplus-value, and, consequently, cannot tell the workers how

the product of their toil is stolen from them.

The statement that "Wages is the price of labor" must be placed in the same category of economic absurdities as the statements that "the workers are robbed as consumers" and "the working class pays the taxes."

It is the duty of the scientific Socialist to arouse the working class to action and illustrate and emphasize the particular point at which they are robbed of the product of their toil and thereby prevent as much as possible "the hopeless, helpless, grasping after straws that characterizes the conduct of the bulk of the working class."

The Socialist propagandist must concentrate all his energies in enlightening the proletariat as to the merchandise character of their labor power which they sell to the capitalist class on the labor market, to trace the labor process, i. e., the process by which the product of their toil is confiscated by the class who owns the means whereby the workers live, and prove that the working class is robbed of all they produce at the point of production and at that point only and cannot be robbed anywhere else, only receiving for their labor power a mere pittance called "wages," which allows them to repeat the dose day after day, and if they fail to the sale of their commodity, they starve, as their commodity is a perishable one. That their commodity labor power possesses one quality which is entirely absent from all other commodities, e. g., that labor power is not only the source of value but of more value than it has in itself.

In conclusion I may state that I agree with James Connolly who wrote to The People a year ago, inasmuch as this great and important question of "wages" ought to be thrashed out since it seems a very debatable one.

I hope my contribution will not be considered a "Kangaroo vain splitting of hairs on economics" since I do not belong to the Kangaroo species of the genus Socialist. I feel that I possess some of the material which is destined to be an important factor in emancipating society forever from human slavery.

David M. Halliday.

Roslyn, Wash., April 9, 1905.

IV.

The position taken by The People, together with the literature issued by the Socialist Labor Party, that "wages are the price of labor," Mr. Halliday promises in the above reply to overthrow with "judicious extracts" from Marx, and with that promise he enters upon the arena. The gentleman makes four "extracts." Of all these "extracts," the only one that bears upon the point at issue, and bears him out, is a citation, not of Marx, but of Aveling. Affidavits are not lobs; neither is Aveling Marx.

We shall confine ourselves to Marx. The Marxian principle is that labor power is a merchandise. Now, then, it so happens that with this merchandise, owner or seller is inseparable from the article sold: A dealer in shoes may live in Roslyn, Wash., and have his factory or shop in New York; the latter may burn up, he need not burn up with it;

or he may shrivel up and die, and yet his merchandise will preserve its full utility. It is so with all other sellers and their merchandise, except the workingman and his merchandise labor-power. If either collapses, down goes the other with it; neither can survive the other. In fact, the merchandise is so interwoven with every muscle, nerve, vein, brain-lob, and tissue of the seller, the workingman, that the two are one. Important is the economic fact brought out by Marx, and insisted upon by him, that, from the viewpoint of economics, it is the workingman's labor power that the workingman sells and the capitalist buys; and more than once—in his letter to the unity congress of the German Socialists, for instance—he finds great fault with the slurring of the point. But Marx was too well rounded a thinker to overlook the sociologic feature which lay in the inseparableness of the merchandise labor-power and the workingman. That, in the end and sociologically, it is the workingman himself that is sold in the Labor-Market Marx points out with lucid clearness and incisiveness when, in the chapter on the source of the capitalist's profits, he points out that it is his own "hide" that the workingman carries to market "for a tanning." One stands, accordingly, with both feet upon Marxism—economic and sociologic Marxism—when the statement is made that the workingman sells HIMSELF. In fact the terms "wage slavery" and "wage slave" indicate as much.

All merchandise has its price in the respective market. So has the merchandise labor-power in its market; and seeing that, as pointed out by Marx, the seller or owner is himself sold in the instance of the merchandise labor-power, it follows that wages, the amount paid, is the price—of what? The term "labor-market" (did Mr. Halliday never come across it in Marx?)—the term "labor market" sufficiently tells that the price is the price of "labor."

It is hard to ascertain exactly what Mr. Halliday objects to.

If his objection is merely to the word "labor" in the sentence "wages are the price of labor"—then his objection may be brushed aside as a mere quarrel of words, and fruitless.

If, however, his objection is to the whole idea, then he is seriously in error. How seriously appears from the passage in which he lightly throws Marx overboard by gayly declaring that "the working class is robbed of ALL that they produce"!!! This is not only an economic absurdity; it is not only a sociologic blunder; it is one of these errors that science condemns as barren in that it leads to no constructive thought;—how utterly unconstructive may be judged from Mr. Halliday's definition of wages as a "mere pittance"!

Wages is the amount received by the seller of the merchandise "labor-power" for his merchandise, "labor-power." Due to the circumstance that seller and merchandise are inseparable in this instance, the seller is himself sold. The circumstance embodies two facts—one of economic bearing, to wit, the labor-power feature, the other of sociologic bearing, to wit, the wage slave feature of the transaction. The transaction takes place in the "labor-market," just as cattle is sold in the "cattle market"—hence wages are the price of labor.

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The Awakening of China

China has been asleep; she is now waking up.

In 1851, at the period of the death of the Emperor Tao-kuang, the Abbe Hue was traveling on the road to Peking, and sat taking tea at an inn on his way. In the company were some Chinese with whom he tried to get up a little political discussion. He spoke of the recent death of the emperor, expressed his anxiety on the subject of the succession to the imperial throne, the heir to which was not publicly declared. The Abbe put forward all sorts of hypotheses in order to draw out those good citizens, but they hardly listened and would utter not a word. When this apathy became provoking one of the worthy Chinese arose from his seat, laid his two hands on the Abbe's shoulders in a manner quite paternal, and said, smiling ironically:

"Listen to me, my friend. Why should you trouble your heart and tire your head with these vain surmises? The Mandarins have to attend to af-

fairs of State; they are paid for it. Don't let us torment ourselves about what does no concern us. We should be great fools to want to do political business for nothing."

Fifty years is a short lustrum; but the Chinese apathy has already passed away. A few years ago there were only seven newspapers issued in all China for its 450,000,000 people; to-day there are 157 daily, weekly and monthly journals discussing public questions. The Rev. J. Darroch says that there is probably not a single Chinese family in any treaty port or in the capital which does not subscribe to one or more native newspapers. He computes that there have lately been printed in China, largely translated from European languages, 60 works on the science of education, 20 educational text-books, 30 histories, 40 books on geography, 60 on government, 40 on law, 20 on the mutual relation of nations, 30 on political economy, 70 on mathematics, 50 on literature, 40 on philosophy, 50 volumes on light literature, 30 novels, 60 books on

languages, 70 on health, 60 on science, 70 on drawing, 120 on the art of war (the largest on any one subject), 30 on agriculture, 20 on astronomy, 40 on mechanics, 30 on travel, and 20 on mensuration. "Altogether," says he, "there are no fewer than 1100 works on subjects which mean a revolution in Chinese thought."

This is a portentous revolution, but it is only part of the evidence. In fifteen provincial capitals colleges have been founded to teach Western learning. There are now 1753 Chinese students engaged in special studies in Japan, besides those in Europe and America. Railroads are being constructed, or are already running, between the principal Eastern cities. The Imperial Postal Service, organized only a few years ago by Sir Robert Hart, has now 1192 post offices throughout the empire. In 1903 there were 49,350,000 parcels sent by it and the next year they rose to 72,150,000. The newspapers and the post office help each other to stir China out of its isolated apathy.

And international travel is another important factor. The Japanese are everywhere, as political advisers, teachers and traders. Their concession at Tientsin is larger than that of any European colony. On the other hand, the Chinese are overflowing their own borders on every side. They are pouring into Korea and Mongolia and Russia. Alfred Stead said in 1903 that Russian statesmen of the greatest prominence admit the problem of coping with the Chinese influx into Siberia had more terrors for them than any international complications that might arise in Manchuria. In the United States there are 100,000 Chinese, 47,000 in Peru, 90,000 in Cuba and Porto Rico, 27,000 in Hawaii, over 40,000 in Burmah, 74,000 in Cochin-China, 20,000 in Borneo, 40,000 in Australasia, 100,000 in the Philippines, 250,000 in the Dutch East Indies, 1,000,000 in the Straits Settlements and the vicinity, and 1,250,000 in Siam, while 27,894 were transported to South Africa in 1904, not to speak of those who were there before. All this

is a new movement and one that means much for the awakening of China.

And now following the Chinese war with Japan and the siege of Peking, comes this war between Japan and Russia. The defeat of Russia stirs and delights and Chinese mightily. What Japan can do China knows that she can do, give her a few years along the line of Western education and the development of an army and navy such as Sir Robert Hart has advised. The East Asian League has branches throughout Japan, Korea and China. Its President is Prince Inouye. Its purpose is the protection of China, the encouragement of wise reform in China and Korea, and the awakening of a patriotic pride. That includes, of course, the development of a military spirit as against foreign aggression. It is to be noticed that the larger class of books published in China this year was on military matters.

All these facts are what Europeans and Americans in China are familiar with. They mean much for the future. China will be a greater Japan—The Independent.

LABOR'S SHARE

Why, Despite Trust or Anti-Trust,
Wages Must Go Down.

Wages can never rise so high as to make it impossible for the capitalist to carry on his business and live; under such circumstances, it would be more profitable for the capitalist to give up his business. Consequently, the wages of the workingman can never rise high enough to equal the value of his product. They must always be below that, so as to leave a surplus; it is only the prospect of a surplus that moves the capitalist to purchase labor-power. It is therefore evident that in the capitalist social system the wages of the workmen can never rise high enough to put an end to the exploitation of labor.

This surplus, which the capitalist class appropriates, is larger than is usually imagined. It covers not only the "profits" of the manufacturer but many other items that are usually credited to the costs of production and exchange. It covers, for instance, rent, interest on loans, salaries, merchants' profits, taxes, etc. All these have to be covered with the surplus, or the excess of the value of the product over the wages of the workingman. It is evident that this surplus must be a considerable one if a concern is to "pay"; the exploitation of the workingman must be great, even where the wages are high. It is clear that the wages of the workingman cannot rise high enough to be even approximately equal to the value of their product. The capitalist wages system means, under all circumstances, the thorough exploitation of the working class. It is impossible to abolish this exploitation without abolishing the system itself.

But wages rarely reach the highest point which they might even under these circumstances; more often they are found to be nearer to the lowest possible point. This point is reached when the wages do not even supply the workman with his bare necessities; when the workingman not only starves but starves rapidly, all work is at an end.

The wages swing between these two extremes; they are found to be lower; the lower the necessities of the workman the larger the supply of labor in the labor market, and the lighter the capacity of the workingman for resistance.

In general, wages must be high enough to keep the workingman in a condition to work, or, to speak more accurately, they must be high enough to secure to the capitalist the measure of labor-power which he needs. In other words, wages must be high enough not only to keep

the workingman in a condition to work, but also in a condition to produce children who may be able to replace them. It follows that the industrial development has a tendency that is most pleasing to the capitalist, to wit, to lower the necessities of the workman.

There was a time when skill and strength were requisites for a workingman. The period of apprenticeship was then long, the cost of his training considerable. Now, however, the progress made in the division of labor and the system of machinery render skill and strength in production more and more superfluous; they make it possible to substitute unskilled and cheap workmen for skilled ones; and, consequently, to substitute weak women and even children in the place of men. Already in the early stages of manufactory this tendency is perceptible; but not until machinery is introduced into production does the wholesale exploitation commence of women and children of tender age—an exploitation of the most helpless among the helpless, who are made a prey of shocking maltreatment and abuse. Thus machinery develops a new and wonderful quality in the hands of the capitalist.

Originally the wage worker, who was not a member of the family of his employer, had to earn wages high enough to defray not only his own expenses but those of his family in order to enable him to propagate himself and to bequeath his labor power to others. Without this process on his part, the heirs of the capitalists would find no proletarians ready made for exploitation.

When, however, the wife, and, from early infancy, the children of the workingman are able to take care of themselves, then the wages of the male workingman can be safely reduced to the level of his own personal needs without the risk of stopping the supply of fresh labor power.

Over and above this, the labor of women and children affords the additional advantage that these offer less resistance than men; and their introduction into the ranks of the workers increases wonderfully the quantity of labor that is offered for sale in the market.

Accordingly, the labor of women and children does not only lower the necessities of the workingman, but it also diminishes his capacity for resistance in that it overstocks the labor market; owing to both these circumstances it lowers the wages of the workingman.

OUR CHILDREN

Offering of Workers Sacrificed to Capitalism as Infants of Old Wore to Moloch.

(From the Edinburgh, Scotland, "Socialist.")

It is the claim of the defenders of capitalism that their system with its private ownership of the machinery of production, with its numerically small capitalist class who own that machinery, and its large proletariat working class, is the best system that ever existed or that could possibly exist. They claim that it gives to the individual the greatest possible liberty, that it gives equal opportunities to all, that it brings forth all the best qualities in man, that it defends morality, that it upholds family life, and that it has resulted in labor being brought to full in the lap of luxury. They assert Socialism would destroy all these things, and bring the workingman to the position of a beggar dependent on the state.

the whirling wheels of capitalism, and that the profits of the master class may be increased and in order that the children of the "upper classes" may have all the advantages of civilization heaped upon them, and spend their lives in ease and luxury, the children—and, with more shame to the upholders of capitalism, be it said—even the infants of the working class are sacrificed wholesale at the shrine of capital.

Paradoxical as it may seem, the capitalist class, while the existence of their system is only assured by the ignorance of the workers, cannot help but bring knowledge to the toiling masses by letting the facts come out.

Thus, when trade is stagnant we find their press gushing with sympathy for the unemployed and putting relief schemes into operation.

Forms of society have existed where the children at birth were put to a severe test and the fit permitted to survive. The deformed and ugly were killed off with the purpose of keeping the population from rising above the means of subsistence and of bringing up a strong and healthy race.

Social orders have prevailed where man was chained and lashed to his task, and at other times women were crushed under with the aid of the stocks, the pillory and the whipping post, but it has been left for the modern capitalist class to swell their coffers at the expense of infantile life and infantile suffering. It has been left for the capitalist class to kill off wholesale, by the slow cruel means of starvation, the buds of humanity in order that their power may be strengthened and pampered, and their pride increased. It has remained for the capitalist class to reduce the greatest half of the population, not to the position of beggars depending on the state, but to the position of paupers depending on their so-called natural "superiors."

Gustave Flaubert, in his famous novel "Salammbô," tells how, when the city of Carthage was besieged by the revolting mercenary troops and was reduced to the last straits, every household in the city was compelled to surrender one of its children to be burned alive on the red hot arms of the hideous image of Moloch, as a sacrifice to the God. The children of the working class are sacrificed, not now and again but day after day, to the infinitely more hideous Moloch of capitalism. Ye have suffered

On the Chicago Manifesto

[These columns are open for the discussion to Party members and non-Party members alike.]

I
From A. Francis, Member Socialist Labor Party.

New York, March 16.—The non-signing of the Manifesto by our organizer would have not in any way affected the actions of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, and the criticism incurred by a Socialist Labor Party man for endorsing, even, as an individual, on such an occasion, a document containing a stupendous contradiction, is well deserved.

The facts contained in the Manifesto about the "Gompers tribe," were conclusively proven by the Socialist Labor Party ten years ago, hence the endorsement at its 1896 National Convention of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, started the previous year, through the amalgamation of the Hudson County Trades Council, the New York Protective Association, (D. A. 49.), Central Labor Union No. 1 New York, Central Labor Union Brooklyn, and some other independent organizations. The men behind the Manifesto, with some exception, considering those facts "new discoveries," desire "new methods"; consequently the logical position held by the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance could not at once fit their minds.

The proposition, as it is, would simply help to create more so-called "progressive" unions, which, although not paying tribute to "greasy Gompers" have proven themselves as vicious demoralizers of their members, as the "pure and simple" concern, by persisting in keeping back from labor the KNOWLEDGE that the immediate cause of its IMPOTENCY is the suicidal use of their fighting right arm—the ballot—in their struggle against the agencies of the robber-class.

In trying to ignore a fundamental truth—the tremendous results for labor's interest through logical political action—the proposed organization, intends to leave its members at the mercy of the glib-tongued ignoramus, the wolf-in-sheep clothes, the heeler of the old

II
From W. E. Kern, Member Socialist Labor Party.

New Orleans, La., March 15.—In considering the Chicago Manifesto and the convention to be held June 27, some of the Socialist Labor Party members are under the impression that the Socialist Labor Party, as a political organization has been invited to send delegates and fly off of the handle by calling the Socialist Labor Party men cowards for not sending delegates. Then another member is under the impression that the organization to be formed will be so progressive that it will put the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance out of business, and possibly put them to death.

Now, for the first, I do not think it proper for the Socialist Labor Party to send a delegate to a convention where they have not been invited. The Manifesto clearly excludes political organizations. Now for the second. Any body can look up back records, (history of the Party) and see the great odds and obstacles the party went up against, and is still going up against and see how "cowardly" its members are. I am astonished to hear such a word used, when I know our comrades know better than to use it in connection with the Socialist Labor Party. As for putting the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor Party out of business, that is the wish of all clear sighted and intelligent workingmen; then, the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance would have fulfilled their mission and we would have the Co-operative Commonwealth.

111
From M. D. Fitzgerald, Member Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

Boston, Mass., March 21.—In regard to the new organization about to be formed in Chicago: I believe it should be on the lines of "Industrial Unionism," and if it cannot unanimously endorse the platform and tactics of the Socialist Labor Party, the question of doing so should be the paramount question for debate in all the divisions of the organization

long our little children. Of your tender bodies capital has reared the greatest Hecatonbs of the ages, compared with which Tamburlaine's pyramid of skulls possesses all the attributes of compassion and tender pity. E. H.

FARLEY'S FORMIDABLE RIVAL.

St. Louis, May 1.—Plans set forth in the annual report of J. T. Van Cleave, president of the Citizens' Industrial Association, for the establishment of an employment department, threaten, if carried out, to give the trade unions the most formidable opponent they yet have encountered. The proposition advanced practically embraces the organization of the non-union men under the fold of the Citizens' Industrial Association, with a view to giving them preference in employment by business men who are also

parties, in the shape of fake labor parties, "liberty leagues," etc., those bunco-steerers who are ever ready to declare themselves for "Socialism when it comes" and in the meantime successfully perform the dirty work for the capitalist class.

Those who can grasp the situation and are ready to acknowledge facts furnished by the history of the Labor Movement in the past ten years, will find abundance of evidence to sustain that point. The latest evidence is the action of the Brewery Workers' Union in the Trautmann case. There you have a progressive union, with a "Socialistic" (sic) programme, putting its editor to the wall through its Executive Committee (some of that Executive are Trautmann's "comrades of the S. P.") all of them either cowards, ignoramuses or heelers of the capitalist class) for a well-meant effort in the interest of our class.

Those who feel the absolute NEED of building up a bona fide economic labor organization, will surely make an effort of their life to go to the Chicago convention, see to it that COMMON SENSE carries the day, and extend the work started by the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, which is in duty bound to be there, ready for co-operation with any and all regardless of the past, so that the working class of America once for all, may cease to be the prey of charlatans of all descriptions.

To the intelligent and sincere proletarian element who can't see as yet that way, I will say, let's stop further experiments so immensely disastrous to labor and investigate without prejudice Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance principles during the next three months. You will then SEE the logic of upholding to the last and always those principles and on those principles only, let us, altogether, organize next June at Chicago the Industrial Labor Alliance.

We ought to be clear on the fact that it is the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, which being an economic organization, is invited. It behooves that body to send a delegation that has been active in the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and Socialist Labor Party agitation, to expound the principles and tactics of a genuine working class organization at the June convention. There may be men at that convention who possibly know nothing of the principles and tactics of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor Party, and who may be ready to adopt them at the convention. At the same time, this delegation will be carrying on educational work that will more than repay the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance for the money expended, while, at the same time, doing good work for the Socialist Labor Party.

When laying the principles and tactics of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance before the convention let the delegation have a copy of the Manifesto, at the same time, so as they can dissect it, when they show them the necessity of working class politics as laid down by the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor Party. Then let the delegates be instructed to inform the convention that, if they adopt those principles and tactics, they are ready to affiliate with them. If not, let them be instructed to withdraw and invite all other delegates who believe in those principles and tactics to join the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

111

From M. D. Fitzgerald, Member Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

Boston, Mass., March 21.—In regard to the new organization about to be formed in Chicago: I believe it should be on the lines of "Industrial Unionism," and if it cannot unanimously endorse the platform and tactics of the Socialist Labor Party, the question of doing so should be the paramount question for debate in all the divisions of the organization

for six months following date of organization. At the end of that period, a referendum vote should be taken by the entire membership on the subject.

Socialist Industrial Union, would be an appropriate name for the new organization, if the more comprehensive one "Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance" is not acceptable to the majority.

The assurances of protection against the union and of continued employment would have effect wherever the non-union men might go. The department would furnish the employers with an ever ready force of men to take the places of strikers in any part of the country and in any craft.

STRIKES IN OTHER TRADES.
A general strike of 30,000 ladies' garment makers is being prepared for by the officers of the Ladies' Garment Makers' International Union.

Strikes involving 3,000 bakers for the enforcement of a ten hour day are being threatened.

The Down Town Truck Owners' Association are preparing a strike of 1,000 teamsters, threatened in the warehouse district

INTERNATIONAL LABOR DAY.

Of Modern Economic Origin—Why and How It Is Celebrated.

(Continued from page 1.)

are voting armories, fusing with capitalist parties, advocating middle class reforms, and the buying out of the capitalist class, while supporting in all its infamy and corruption the Belmont-Gompers-Civic-Federated American Federation of Labor, which "The Wall Street Journal" declares to be "the bulwark of the nation against the attacks of Socialism." By "the nation," "The Wall Street Journal" obviously means the capitalist class, as the attacks of Socialism are directed against its usurpation of social wealth and institutions.

Of course, the class conscious Socialists are combating the opportunists here, just as the class conscious Socialists are combating them abroad. They assert that it is folly to combine with the sinking farming and small manufacturing class as they are doomed to extermination by concentration and the trust. The census statistics of 1900 show every third farmer is a tenant farmer, while some figures given out in 1904 show that of the 10,000,000 persons then estimated as engaged in agricultural pursuits, between two and three millions are farm laborers, or wage workers, receiving from \$16 to \$22 a month and board for their services. These figures show that if given a little more time, evolution in farming will create an agricultural proletariat, with interests antagonistic to those of their employers, just as evolution in industry has developed an industrial proletariat with interests antagonistic to the capitalists, against whom the farmer rails. In the case of the small manufacturer, the trusts are causing him to see him finish! John Moody, in his book "The Truth About the Trusts," published in March, 1904, cites statistics to show that the trusts of the country were then capitalized at \$20,000,000,000. "The Wall Street Journal," reviewing Moody's book, says, "The total capitalization seems appalling; \$20,000,000,000 is one-fifth of the total wealth of the United States . . . it appears that there is outside of the control of the trusts \$80,000,000,000 of independent wealth. In other words, the independent wealth of the United States, as compared to the trust wealth, is as four to one. But it should not be overlooked that the trust wealth is the most important, in that it controls all the other wealth. The trusts are in control of the transportation facilities of the country. They are in control of its banking facilities, and they control its main industrial systems. Through control of its banks, the railroads and the leading industrial companies, the directors of these trusts practically direct the business of the country, and when it is said that of the \$20,000,000,000 of trust capital in the United States, upwards of \$1,000,000,000 is held by one family, and that the greatest amount is represented by a group of perhaps a dozen capitalists, one gains some conception of the immense power which is yielded in this country by a few capitalists." The opportunist lays great stress on the "independent wealth" of the middle class, but though this wealth is far greater in bulk than trust wealth, it is so scattered and diffuse as to be impotent and useless as a political and economic factor. The difference between this "independent wealth" and trust wealth is the difference between infinite weakness and vast strength; between idiotic tomfoolery and unerring strategy. This is plainly evidenced in the present anti-trust fight that is being waged by the middle class in Kansas and elsewhere. Under the foregoing circumstances it is evident that the farmers and the small manufacturers are doomed to economic and political extinction, and any fusion of the working class movement in their interests is to be condemned as an attempt to make a cat-paw of the proletariat. Labor, in order to be free, must jealously guard its own class interests.

As to old age pensions, they were properly designated by Liebknecht, as poor law reforms. "Municipal ownership" we know is a capitalist scheme to acquire lower taxes and cheaper transportation, light, heat and motive power; to dispose of bankrupt and obsolete properties, and to provide a safer and more profitable investment. "Buying out the capitalist class" is not only an injustice, but an impossibility. No usurping class has yet permitted itself to be bought out—it had to be fought out.

Despite the opportunists (or shall we say because of them?) there is much in the American situation that inspires hope and courage. The very fact of their presence reflects the growth of genuine Socialism, and the capitalist necessity to resort to diplomacy and sharp practice in order to dissipate its strength. We are not in Russia. Though we have our Colorado's, physical force cannot be appealed to on a scale co-extensive with the nation—that would expose capitalist sophistry, so trickery and fraud must

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PRICE
AND
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Special interest attaches to what Marx says relative to strikes. Were the working class thoroughly acquainted with the subject matter of this little work, we should hear no more of the "common ground" on which capital and labor might meet to settle their differences.

The thousand and one schemes that are daily being flaunted in the faces of the working class by the lieutenants of the capitalists show the necessity there is on the part of the working class for a comprehensive understanding of the matter of wages, the relation of the wage worker to the employer, the source of profits, and the relation between profits and wages. These and other subjects are here presented, and so clearly does Marx present them that all he has to say can be understood by any person willing to pay close attention to his words.

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INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

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take its place. Again, the opportunist at home are reaping the rewards of their compromising tactics. Their party, the so-called "Socialist," alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party, polled 400,000 votes last election. It is now in the throes of internal struggle arising out of the logical development of its capitalist fusion and trade union policy. The result is bound to be beneficial to genuine Socialism, as represented by the Socialist Labor Party.

Hope and courage are also to be found in the attitude of the working class toward the Belmont-Gompers-Civic-Federated American Federation of Labor. The members of the working class are beginning to perceive the impotency of its autonomous policy, and are declaring in favor of industrial unionism. This declaration finds expression in the call for an industrial union convention at Chicago, on June 27.

Finally hope is to be found in the conditions created by Capitalism itself. This nation is the greatest industrial nation in the world. Through its suc-

cessful invasion of the markets of the world it has become the leading world power. It has also, by the same token, become the nation in which class distinctions are most marked. The result is intense class conflicts, both in the shops and at the ballot box. The working class history from Homestead to Colorado has been one of bloody struggle. The middle class anti-trust presidential campaigns from 1896 to 1904 have been a series of defeats, resulting in the almost complete annihilation of the Democratic party, and bringing Plutocracy face to face with Socialism. The army of Socialism is consequently growing more clearly and more rapidly at home than abroad. The new world, devoid of centuries of oppression, in which to breed revolutionary traditions and instincts, is, thanks to its rapid economic development, taking its place in the front ranks of the pioneers of the new era. First in industrial supremacy, it will be the first to embrace Socialism, via the principles and tactics of the uncompromising Socialist Labor Party.

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stamps should be sent for return.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

In 1888.....	2,068
In 1892.....	21,157
In 1896.....	36,564
In 1900.....	34,191
In 1904.....	34,172

Men whose boast is that ye
"Come of fathers brave and free,"
If there breathe on earth a slave—
Are ye truly free and brave?
If ye do not feel the chain,
When it works another's pain,
Are ye not base slaves indeed—
Slaves unworthy to be freed?
—James Russell Lowell.

THE TRAUTMANN CASE.

Elsewhere in this issue will be found
the signed statement of Ernest Trautmann
to the Working Class of America.
From the statement—confirmatory evidence
of which will later be furnished—
the following facts stand out clear:

Trautmann was the Editor of the
"Brauer-Zeitung", the organ of the
United Brewery Workmen, an organization
that endorsed the so-called
Socialist party; he took part in arranging
for a call to organize the Working
Class of the land into a Union that he
considered superior to the Civic-Feder-
alized-American Federation of Labor
of Gompers; for doing so the Executive
Board of his organization—at least one
of whom, Priesterbach, is a member of
a St. Louis Democratic Club—demanded
his resignation; he refused, and the
question was sent to a referendum vote,
both sides publishing their statements;
by a majority of over 1,000 votes the
rank and file sustained Trautmann; but
the Executive Board—the accusers in
the case—resolved themselves into a
"Board of Review", and with the Demo-
cratic politician Priesterbach, for one,
among them, counted out enough votes
favorable to Trautmann, and thus gave
themselves a majority, and turned
Trautmann out of his office.

Thick as blackbirds in spring do the
points rise in connection with—we must
admit it—this welcome incident in the
volcanic eruptions and convulsions that
are just now being experienced in the
American Labor Movement. We shall
here single out the one that strikes us
as most typical and luminous.

It can have escaped no one that the
terms "individual opinion", "individual
action" have latterly figured quite con-
spicuously in certain quarters. They are
used as a justification, as terms denoting
independent individual rights. Victor
L. Berger, for instance, the Wisconsin
Social Democratic chieftain, used them
to justify his conduct in the recent mat-
ter of the Milwaukee elections where he
advocated the voting for a capitalist
candidate. He claimed that it was his
"individual opinion" and "individual
action" which concerned not his organi-
zation, the Social Democratic party.
Let us test the principle:

Priesterbach is a member of the Ex-
ecutive Board of the Brewers' Union,
a body that endorsed the so-called So-
cialist, alias Social Democratic party.
Priesterbach joined a capitalist political
club, a Democratic club of St. Louis.
Was this an act of treason or disloyalty
to his Union, which endorsed another
party? We suppose not. We suppose
that Priesterbach and his fellow mem-
bers on the Executive Board justify the
act on the ground that it was his "in-
dividual opinion", his "individual action",
to which he has a sovereign right. And,
accordingly, he remains an undisturbed
member of a capitalist political club and
of the said Brewers' Executive Board.

Trautmann, the Editor of a paper
whose organization is affiliated with
American Federation of Labor, joins a
body of men in preparing for the organ-
ization of another national Union. Ac-
cording to the principle of "individual
opinion" and "individual action", the
unsophisticated would think that Traut-
mann's "individual opinion" and "in-
dividual action" would be at least as sac-
red as Priesterbach's. Not at all! Priesterbach may exercise his "in-
dividual opinion" against his Union's; al-
though he is a member of the Executive
Board, he may join a Democratic cap-
italist club, but Trautmann has no right
to any "individual opinion"! He must be
cashiered.

One more illustration will make the
point still clearer:

Berger, a member of the National
Executive Committee of the so-called
Socialist party, a party that, claiming to
be Socialist, must be at war with all
political parties and candidates of cap-

italism, came out in his two papers,
"Wahrheit" and "Social Democratic
Herald", with articles that promoted
the election of a Democratic candidate.
Trautmann brought the matter up in
the National Executive Committee of
the said Socialist party and demanded
an investigation. Berger's defense was
that he simply acted upon his "in-
dividual opinion", that he had a right to his
"individual action" without thereby
binding his party or being responsible
to it therefor. But this identical Ber-
ger shouts with delight at the Executive
Board of the Brewers' for denying
Trautmann the right to his "individual
opinion" and "individual action".

Are these people gone crazy? Not
at all! Is it that they have been seized
with a sudden dementia for injustice,
and will deny to others rights and priv-
ileges that they claim for themselves?
Not at all! "Berger" and "Priester-
bach", on the one side, "Trautmann",
on the other, are not the points at is-
sue. The point at issue is the PRIN-
CIPLE that each set represents; and
the side with which, in each of the in-
stances quoted above, victory remains
SIMPLY PROCLAIMS BY ITS CON-
DUCT WHAT THE DOMINANT
PRINCIPLE IS WITH IT.

What Berger did was not to deny to
Trautmann rights that he claimed for
himself: what he did was to pronounce
himself and his party in favor of the
PRINCIPLE upon which he acted—to
wit: log-rolling with capitalist politi-
cians.

So likewise with the Executive Board
of the Brewers. When it deposed
Trautmann and let Priesterbach in
peace, what it did was not to deny to
Trautmann rights that it recognized in
Priesterbach: what it did was to pro-
nounce itself in favor of the PRIN-
CIPLE upon which Priesterbach acted
and which Trautmann's conduct no
doubt flew in the face of—to wit: log-
rolling with capitalism.

It is always well to break through
the outward crust of personalities, and
come down to the rock-bed of cause.
Thus alone can rumpuses prove fruit-
ful, and right PRINCIPLE prevail—
as prevail it must.

CRIMINALS AT LARGE.

When the legislative committee that
investigated the Consolidated Gas Com-
pany (a branch of the Standard Oil) in
this city finished its labors, the control-
ling spirits of the concern stood indicted
of worse than cheating: they stood in-
dicted of fraud, spoliation, highway rob-
bery.

They stood indicted of having watered
their stock up to \$80,000,000.

They stood indicted of showing on
their books assets of less than \$50,000-
000, despite the hugeness of the capital
claimed to have been invested.

They stood indicted of falsifying their
reports to the tax authorities—sworn
reports. The amount reported was \$35-
000,000 while their books showed tax-
able property in the amount of \$50,000-
000, and they were paying dividends on
nearly double that amount.

They stood indicted of violating the
anti-Trust Act—the same Act on which
the Northwestern Merger was declared
unlawful. They had merged, with one in-
significant exception, every single gas
and electric company in Manhattan and
the Bronx, and all the Queens corpora-
tions not operated by the Brooklyn Un-
ion Gas Company or the Kings County
Electric Company.

They stood convicted of utilizing the
monopoly thus acquired by extorting \$1
per thousand cubic feet of gas, when the
cost was about 36 cents, and 15 cents
per kilowatt hour of electric current
when 6.32 cents would cover all expenses
including the amounts written off for
depreciation.

They stood indicted of having paid
from 8 to 9 1/2 per cent. dividends upon
the fraudulent capitalization, which
means nearly 20 per cent. on the actual
capital.

In short, these pillars of "Law, Or-
der and Morality" stand convicted of
acts felonious enough to send them all
to the penitentiary, and to cause their
franchise to be revoked. Has their
franchise been revoked, or any step
taken in that direction? No! Have
they been locked up for fraud, or any
step taken in that direction? No!

Why?
The law is there clear enough in the
premises. Yet the criminals remain at
large and in possession of their stolen
goods. If the law is clear enough, their
freedom proves that they are above the
law; that the law is there only to scare
the Working Class, but that the cap-
italist class are above it.

Or is the law, perchance, not clear
enough? Then the fact is an evidence
that the criminal class is so powerful
in advance that it can run legislatures,
Governors and Presidents, and see to
it that no law is passed that may
bother them.

In either case, clear as a pike stands
the fact that the Capitalist Class is a
law unto itself—the real government of
the nation—an irresponsible coterie of
brigands.

AND CAPITALISM IS NOT PATER-
NAL!

The huge sum of \$10,000,000 has been
donated by Andrew Carnegie as a fund
from which to pay pensions to old teach-
ers of schools, and colleges. The sum
is to yield a revenue of \$500,000 an-
nually, it is expected to render the old
age of deserving instructors bearable,
and the awarders will be a committee or
board of trustees appointed by the
donor. The papers have turned some-
saults of praiseful-delight, and thrown
up their hats in praiseful commendation
of the gift. There is not a statement
they have made which does not crack
the skull of the theory that capitalism
means "individuality"; there is not a
statement they have made, which, to-
gether with the occasion for making it,
does not brand capitalism as "paternal"
in the enervating sense of the word.

At the most, 500 teachers in the land
can receive any benefit from the gift.
According to the last census there were
446,133 teachers and professors in col-
leges. Allowing the huge figure of 46-
133 as the number of the privileged ones
who, through "pull" or other "in-
dividualistic" methods, receive salaries
large enough to live decently on, and
lay by something for the morrow, there
remain, accordingly, surely 400,000 of
these useful members of society whose
earnings—the mere fact of the donation
together with the Hosannas sung there-
upon, attest it—are avowedly indecent-
ly, inhumanly, criminally low. Of these,
barely one-eight hundredth the number
can expect to profit by the iron-master's
"munificence!"

Let us leave these 399,500 wretches
aside, and contemplate the 500 "lucky"
ones.

Why are they "lucky"? Their luck
rests upon a foundation of deep and
broad misfortune. They would not now
be deemed "lucky" if they had not pre-
viously been martyred. Their present
"luck" is grafted on a life of unrequited
toil. They labored; got little, too little
to live well upon; are consequently
prematurely aged; and old age stares
them in the face with absolute destitu-
tion in its folds—and that, despite the
phenomenal affluence of the land. They
did their share in producing that phe-
nomenal wealth through the services that
they rendered society; they were robbed
of their share by the capitalist class;
and now, cap in hand, they are expected
to sue at the door of Carnegie's com-
mittee for the pension that is offered.
Martyrized with unrequited toil for a
life-time, they are now to be unmaned
at the end by the cringing necessary
to catch the committee's eye—above all,
they are to be de-humanized by the
scrambling that they will be forced to
resort to in order to elbow the other
399,500 back, and themselves get the
plum!

The "plum"?—That is the capstone of
the insult! The plum of a pension, even
the largest proposed—\$2,000—especially
if the towering prices of the necessities
of life are considered, is but relatively
a "plum"; in fact it is a bone,
compared with what these martyrs
would have to live upon in old age, if
the social system of to-day were not,
what it is, a system of refined cannibalism,
of robbery under the cloak of legality,
of immorality behind the mask of re-
ligion.

No \$10,000,000 blankets can blanket
up the felony of capitalism. Such
blankets are transparently the evidence
of a paternalism, such as man's sense of
dignity revolts against. Socialism spurns
the thought; and it points, at the fact
as the freshest evidence, that not "pa-
ternal" solicitude, dependent upon the
caprice or temporary will of any in-
dividual will stand, but the democratic,
self-reliant effort of the people is re-
quired to afford them the self-respecting
and pure wellbeing that they are en-
titled to.

REFRACTING INFORMATION.

In his speech before the Montauk Club
the other day Senator Chauncey M.
Depew gave several illustrations of the
changing of the times. One of them
was this:

"I spoke of new books, authors, art
and adventure the other day to a charm-
ing woman, who said, 'Oh, these things
are old-fashioned and a bore. Tell me
about 'Smelters.' Are they going up?'"

With majestic effrontery the candi-
dles of the groveling, dissolute,
and brigand class of the capitalist have
preached to the Working Class that the
Capitalist Class is the Ark of Intel-
ligence, of Morality, of lofty Aspiration,
of Law and Order. The workers were
the reverse of all these virtues, and so-
ciety would crumble into chaos and sink
into brutishness were it not for the Cap-
italist Class, its holy men and saintly
women, who keep lighted the lamp of
all the Virtues, and thus perform the
mission of social light-house keepers.

Of late, the myth has been receiving
rude knocks: the thefts and breaches of
Law committed by the holy capitalists
have virtually filled the public press,
except for the grewsome reports of the
wholesale slaughter of workmen in
mines, factories and other establish-

ments; Hyde banquets, Seeley dinners,
Seligman Anita-Sotherland escapades and
the like exhibitions of capitalist morality
have caused people to wonder open-
mouthed; Loomis charges, preferred by
Minister Bowen, have thrown the cal-
cium light upon the bent of mind of
capitalist officialdom. But still, these
were all men. Woman, the Vestal
priestess at the hearth of Society, was
still unassailed. Her aspirations might
still be of the loftiest. The virtues, that
we are told have taken refuge in the
Capitalist Class at large, may have fled
to the cock-loft of female capitalism,
may be there awaiting a returning of
purer, better days, and may from their
high perch be guiding erring humanity.
But that theory is dashed. Depew's
story dashes it.

Stocks of smelters, and, of course, of
other concerns—stocks, prosaic stocks—
stocks, the tentacles, through which the
life-blood of workmen, workingwomen
and working-children are suctioned
into the veins of the vampire Capitalist
Class—stocks, and not art, poetry, books,
authors, or any other elevating subject,
but low down stocks, only as these go
up or down is the "charming woman"
of the Capitalist Class cheered or de-
pressed—only stocks interest, all else
bore her!

Depew may be growing senile in act-
ing as the refractor for such a ray of
information on his own sacrosanct set.
But whether it be an act of senility in
him or not, no one will doubt the ex-
cellence of the refracting lense for its
purpose.

A CHAMBER OF HORRORS.

The exhibition that capitalist society
is making of itself is presenting the
"best of all possible social systems" in
its true light.

In regular chamber of horror style,
the Gerry Society is keeping children
from their parents and collecting one
dollar a week for the keep of children,
who are dead; millionaire directors are
found "holding up" policyholders for a
rake off of twenty-five dollars; directors
of the gas company stand convicted of
false swearing to escape taxes, of false
book-keeping to escape other State laws,
of false capitalization and of charging
three times the cost of production; the
Secretary of the Navy stands convicted
of having violated the law in the matter
of rebates when he was a director of
the Santa Fe Road; the Standard Oil
stands exposed of highway robbery on
the sneak system; four hundred thou-
sand children are shown to have been
poisoned by food adulterations, and dis-
ease untold is proven to be traceable to
the poisonous ingredients that the mil-
lionaire food producers adulterate their
goods with; the City Traction Company
operates its trains with reckless disre-
gard of the travelers' comforts; not less
than nineteen mine explosions, one hun-
dred and thirty-five factory accidents,
and twenty-nine railroad collisions have
taken place during the last fortnight,
aggregating more than two hundred
killed and wounded; in the mean time
capitalist officialdom, from judges down
or up, are being convicted of cheating,
peculating and otherwise dishonoring
themselves;—all for dividends or cash
in some sort.

Why go to any dime museum to look
at chambers of horror? The nation is
one huge Chamber of Horrors, with the
capitalist class at the door, beating the
drum and acting as pullers-in.

D. Cady Herriek, Democratic candidate
for Governor last fall, discussing city,
alias "municipal ownership", before the
Bronx Press Club on April 24, said:
"No government would want its em-
ployees to be its masters." The implica-
tion that "municipal ownership" will
make its employees masters of govern-
ment is an entirely gratuitous one. It
is plainly stated by the strong-lunged
advocates of "municipal ownership" that
strikes would be abolished under it.

This is equivalent to saying that, under
"municipal ownership", the government
will be the master of its employees, as in
the Post Office. As every intelligent
workman knows, the capitalist class
is the government to-day, so that, in
the last analysis, "municipal ownership"
means the capitalist mastery of govern-
mental employees—a condition that
capitalist investment in municipal bonds
makes imperative. Only under Socialism
will employees, that is, the workmen,
be masters of the government, that is,
of the management of production and
distribution, for, under Socialism, govern-
ment, as at present constituted, will
have disappeared. All of which will
help to understand why "municipal own-
ership" is not Socialism and Socialism is
not "municipal ownership."

A sign of the times is the economic
expansion congress to be held at Mons,
Belgium, on September 24th next. The
economic expansion of the world will be
the subject for consideration. This is
a very important subject at present, for
if capitalism fails to secure the economic
expansion of the world, its collapse and
overthrow will follow.

"Joe" Jefferson is dead, but the Rip
Van Winkles are still with us.

CLASS INTERESTS

A Keen American Author Who Recog-
nized Them Two Decades Ago.

A local Socialist is making a study of
American economic evolution. This
study has taken him into libraries and
book stores in the search for material.
In one of the latter he ran across a
book entitled "Class Interests: Their
Relations to Each Other and to Gov-
ernment." Of course, he promptly gob-
bled it up. The book is remarkable, in
its way. Published anonymously in
1886 by Appleton & Co., it is referred
to in the current discussions of social
questions, and readers are advised to
peruse it. The author is a very close
approach to the present day popo-Dem-
ocrat. He opposes gold monometallism
in favor of silver and greenbacks, at-
tacks protection, and advocates "the
amplification of government functions",
that is, government control of monop-
olies. But he differs from his successor
in a clearer conception of class interests,
which is decidedly to his credit, consid-
ering the greater development of the
class struggle since his time. But, per-
haps, it would be better to let him
speak for himself on this point.

First of all, his preface is valuable as
a reflex of the alteration created in the
American viewpoint by combinations.
Says the author:

"If I had written on these subjects a
dozen years ago, the statement would
have been different from this. It would
then have been made in the spirit of
those economical doctrines which af-
firm the sufficiency of competition to
enable all who deserve, to win. But
economical conditions are constantly
changing; and one may change views
with further study. The forces are
daily multiplying which relegate com-
petition to the background, and give
the victory to combination. The char-
acter of the struggle is not what it once
was—mainly a struggle between indi-
viduals; it is now largely a struggle
between the organized few and the un-
organized many, in which the former
get advantages and often push them to
the utmost."

Having thus shown the cause of the
author's departure from orthodox eco-
nomies via combination, some extracts
from Chapter 2, entitled "The Class
Bias", are now in order. At the be-
ginning of this chapter the author says:

"Every class in society, every coterie,
every set, high or low, rich or poor, has
its peculiar bias like an atmosphere
through which it looks at outward ob-
jects. . . ."

"Biases take form largely under the
molding influences of interests or sup-
posed interests. It has been well said
that gravitation itself would be called
into question, if the interests of a set
were to be subserved thereby. . . .
An interest finds its way into the feel-
ings; these feelings spread by contagion
until an entire group becomes affected
therewith, when mutual sympathy con-
firms the common sentiment, and not a
doubt remains of its justness. The bias
which coincides with the interests of a
class, or set, is far more powerful than
a merely individual bias, because it be-
comes strengthened by sympathy, and
reinforced by mutual statement and af-
firmation, till there is no place for doubt
or a question. . . . The bias of parti-
sans may thus at times become heated
into passion, and prove itself equal to
any outrage on truth. The bias of
class, with more quiet, may be equally
determined, and may carry its purposes
by no means less scrupulous. . . ."

Having thus described class "biases"
in general, the author proceeds to show
their operation in government. Here
is part of what he says under the sec-
tion sub-head of "Class Laws":

"In all law-making since civilization
began, class legislation has been a prom-
inent feature—class legislation always
intended to be in the interest of the
strong class or classes that made the
laws. . . . Employers and not lab-
orers made the laws for the regulation
of laborers in England; and while pro-
fessing to have the good of the laborers
at heart, they imposed restraints which,
had they been efficacious, would have
made the working people slaves. After
the great plague wages rose, and in 1351
the Statute of Laborers was enacted to
compel people to work at the old prices.
This form of arbitrary interference was
kept up for centuries."

More in the same line, but nearer
home, is met with under the sub-head
"Monopoly Biases". Hear this:

"Wherever monopolies exist, there are
influences constantly at work to create
and maintain a bias in their favor.
The more profitable and unjust a
monopoly is, the deeper it fixes prej-
udices, and the more danger there is in
attacking it. This was illustrated by
the slavery bias in the United States.
It is everywhere and always true.
What Adam Smith states of the
case in England has been almost true
of this country. He says: 'The mem-
ber of Parliament who supports every
proposal for strengthening monopoly is

sure to acquire reputation for under-
standing trade, but also great popularity
and influence with an order of men
whose numbers and wealth render them
of great importance. If he opposes
them, on the contrary, and still more,
if he have authority enough to be able
to thwart them, neither the most ac-
knowledge probity, nor the highest rank,
nor the greatest public services can
protect him from the infamous abuse
and detraction, from personal insults,
nor sometimes from real danger arising
from the influence of furious and dis-
appointed monopolists."

"There has always been a coalition
of the strongest classes in society, in
which wealth and blood have constituted
the bond, and at the same time, the
means of operating upon and securing
the subservency of other classes."

One more quotation, and then we'll
end, for the present, this resume of this
remarkable book. Writing under the
sub-head "Biases of Economical Teach-
ers", the author of "Class Interests" has
this to say:

"Not legislators and executive officers
alone have the aristocratic bias; the
teachers of political economy are not
wholly free from it. . . . Political
economy has to do with questions in
which class interests are diverse, and
owing to the conflicting emotions which
these interests call up, and the biases
which they generate, it is not to be
expected that political economy will
soon be free from the taint of bias."

Indeed not!!!

In conclusion, the reader of "Class
Interests" is inclined to wish this book
in the hands of those who contend, in
these days of "Peabodyism" and "Par-
ryism", that there are no classes in
this country! Written two decades ago,
it would show them that there is at
least one able American writer, who,
though no Socialist, believed the con-
trary. They had better wake up. Two
decades after, was just the time Rip
Van Winkle woke up!

Herman W. Troebner, who has the
distinction of being "the greatest men-
dicant that ever lived, and a genius in
his line", is now in the lock-up. It is
stated that "he has cleaned up tens of
thousands of dollars during the past
four or five years, and the full list of
his victims would read like a social reg-
ister of New York." Some names, such
as those of Clarence Mackay, and one of
the California Crokers, are given, and
show the latter half of the foregoing
statement to be true. Troebner, when
asked "How on earth did you work it?"
replied: "Oh, just conned 'em." Again,
he is reported to have said: "It wasn't
so much the money I was after as the
satisfaction of doing those big people.
It's something to say that you've bled
the biggest men in the country on a
bluff." It would be interesting to hear
the comments of "the biggest men in
the country" on the achievements of
this mendicant genius. They are apt to
be more vigorous than polite. This beg-
gar, with his "bluffs", has committed an
unpardonable sin. He has given a dead-
ly blow to the superstition that "the
biggest men in the country" pay the
economists dearly to maintain, namely,
that they are gifted with amazing pow-
ers of divination and penetration, to
which their great wealth and position
are due. Who has not read the thrill-
ing stories that they have had concocted,
showing themselves possessed of the
marvelous faculty to get at the true
inwardness of men and things, thus
giving them that occult insight that
accounted for their superior possessions,
when compared with those of other men,
especially workmen. And now, to
have a d—d beggar destroy these beau-
tiful fabrications in such a low manner!
—it's too confoundedly cursed for any-
thing! The only way out of it is for
"the biggest people in the country" to
have some skilled employe to look after
the beggars, just as they have skilled
employes to look after their other af-
fairs!

Now that the municipal campaign is
approaching, a great deal of effort is
being put forth to show that crime is
decreasing in this city. To this end the
fewer numbers of arrests and trials are
cited. This would be good proof, were
all the criminals arrested and tried. But
it is common knowledge that many
crimes are committed without any ar-
rests being made in connection with
them. Thanks to official stupidity and
graft, murders and thefts have been
committed without any apprehension of
the perpetrators. The Equitable fight
has disclosed numerous violations of
the insurance law, yet the law-breakers
are still at large. So also has the Gas
investigation made clear that crime is
rampant in other high capitalist circles;
but has anyone noticed any arrests or
trials as a result? "Figures never lie,
but some liars figure." This is a case
of the liar figuring.

"Business for the month will be a
record breaker", says the Steel Trust.
Many a workman will also be broken,
but of that deponent saith naught.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER
JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—Uncle Sam, I
wish to have a heart-to-heart talk with
you.

UNCLE SAM—It shall be heart-to-
heart!

B. J.—About the Trades Union Ques-
tion.

U. S.—A big question!

B. J.—You are a Socialist Labor Party
man; I know where you stand on that
question.

U. S.—None can mistake us.

B. J.—And I'm a Socialist Party man
—you know where we stand on that.

U. S.—No, I don't! Some of you stand
one where; others of you stand else-
where.

B. J. (embarrassed)—There's a good
deal in that—and that's why I wanted
a heart-to-heart talk with you.

U. S.—You are having it.

B. J.—Is not capital concentrating?

U. S.—It is!

B. J.—And the more it does, aren't the
chances of a Union to resist capitalist
encroachments slimmer and slimmer?

U. S.—So they are.

B. J.—And the Trust stage of con-
centration is bound to come?

U. S.—It is.

B. J.—And then the Union's chances
of resistance will be gone, would they
not?

U. S.—In that ultimate event, they
would.

B. J. (in great glee)—Now, that's why
I say—to hell with the Union! There's
no use bothering with them! They're
going to smash anyhow! Let 'em go!

What's the sense in either joining or
fighting 'em! Let's turn our back on
'em, and give all our time to the polit-
ical movement. Let's save ourselves the
annoyance of all these union wrangles!

Let's—let's—

U. S.—Not so fast!

B. J.—Ain't I right?

U. S.—You're wrong!

B. J.—Notwithstanding you admitted
the inevitableness of the Trust stage?

CORRESPONDENCE

[CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, BESIDE THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.]

AS TO THE CHICAGO CONVENTION.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—I am not desirous of entering into a discussion on the address of Comrade De Leon to the membership of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, but I do desire that the membership be made acquainted with the fact that, as one, I cannot agree with Comrade De Leon's confession of faith. I, too, had hoped that Comrade De Leon would be one of the chosen ones to represent the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance in the Chicago conference. But to me (and I have always understood Comrade De Leon as taking that position), an economic organization without a political affiliation cannot be revolutionary.

There is a difference in an endorsement of one organization by another and an affiliation between them; and, unless the new organization embodies the following from the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance constitution, or their equivalent, in its constitution, I shall certainly favor the continuation of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance:

"Article II.—Objects.—(d) To further the political movement of the Working Class and its development on the lines of International Socialism as represented on this continent by the Socialist Labor Party.

"Article VII.—General Laws.—Sec. 2: Any affiliated organization, or any officer thereof, that may endorse or in any way support any political party other than the Socialist Labor Party, shall be expelled by the General Executive Board.

"Sec. 3: Any member of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance who accepts nomination for office from any political party except the Socialist Labor Party shall be immediately dropped from the roll of membership."

I acknowledge that I fail to understand Comrade De Leon when he says: "With the Labor Lieutenants out of the way what the capitalist class has been throwing them will go to the rank and file even to tub fulls"—far be it from them, they will only do this when forced to; and when we reach that stage, it will be as easy to get the whole thing as to get tub fulls.

I am certainly therefore not in favor of sending Comrade De Leon or any one else to the Chicago conference, with such a confession of faith; much more than am I in favor of instructions that the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance take a position and select delegates accordingly. If those delegates slip through the loop hole, we have the referendum. No one has said anything to me about becoming a delegate. Should I be chosen, I certainly could not subscribe to Comrade De Leon's confession of faith.

Should the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance decide that Comrade De Leon's position is correct, then select only such delegates as agree with him; they are then instructed. There will be a minority to leave out, for I feel sure that I am not alone. But I hope Comrade De Leon's confession of faith will not prevail.

W. W. Cox.
East St. Louis, Ill., April 25.

SELF-ANALYSIS SHOULD BEGIN AT HOME, ELLA WHEELER.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—In looking over Mr. Hearst's "Municipal Ownership" Evening Journal of April 15, 1905, I noticed a contribution by Mrs. Ella Wheeler Wilcox on: "The Growth of Socialism in California" (Socialism is a S. D. P., alias S. P., alias P. O. P., of course), in which this passage occurs: "Meantime it behooves every man and woman enrolled in the ranks of the Socialists to set apart a portion of each day for self-analysis."

Now, Mr. Editor, while I have nothing against this bit of advice, the thought occurs to me that Mrs. Wilcox, as a public writer of influence, is herself hardly in need of some self-analysis. In practicing self-analysis she would find that instead of doing good, she is actually doing harm to the great working class (which, after all, consists of the bulk of the people), by instilling into the minds of thousands of men and women the Single Tax fallacy. By analyzing herself she would also find that by writing well-worded articles on love, kindness, self-reliance, push, etc., and leaving capitalism, which degrades and demoralizes man, woman and childhood, untouched, she is not adding anything to the world's progress or happiness.

I really did admire Mrs. Wilcox's writings once, but the reading of the Daily People quickly put a damper on my enthusiasm and made me come to the conclusion that what is needed to-day is more women of the type of Mrs. Olive M. Johnson; women that are devoting their time and energy to the education and organization of the people; so that

they, when educated and organized, can throw off the crushing yoke of capitalism and inaugurate the Socialist Republic.

Yes, Mrs. Wilcox, let us have self-analysis, but don't forget that it, like charity, begins at home.
L. V.
New York, April 27.

STAY AWAY, STRIKE ON!

To the Daily and Weekly People.—I am a lens grinder in the optical business and a member of the Socialist Labor Party and Local Alliance 77. I have been offered a job in Meyerovitz's shop, 168 West One Hundred and Twenty-third street, but heard there was a strike on and not being sure, I ask you to let me know whether there is or not.
A. H.
South Boston, Mass., April 24.

BOHN'S SUCCESS IN PHOENIX.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—National Organizer Comrade Frank Bohn's lectures in Phoenix were a success, even the bogus Socialists admit that he is the ablest speaker on Socialism that has toured the territory. That goes without question by those who understand sociology as all other speakers on the question were humbugologists attempting to discuss sociology.

In his first lecture Bohn astounded the lovers of President Roosevelt by stating that he was mendacious and that when he stated in his message to Congress that the laboring class were now better off than ever before in the world's history, being a historian, he must have known that it was a lie.

When he was through with his lecture Bohn asked any one in the audience that took exception to what he said to take the stand and he would discuss the question with him. Not one dared to open his mouth, although, while I was selling literature, one in the audience refused to buy literature saying that he didn't like the way that Bohn talked. I asked him what was the matter with what Bohn said. "Why," he answered, "he called the president a liar," and that he knew the president to be an honest man, and that he would not dare say it to his face. I told him that the facts as stated in the lecture proved the president to be a liar and that Bohn would say it and prove it to the president's face if necessary, and that bluffs might go with other parties, but not with the Socialist Labor Party.

Upon the whole the lectures were a success, although the rain put us out on Monday night and very nearly did the same thing on Tuesday. The sale of literature was an unequalled success. We sold 200 pamphlets, forty-nine at the Sunday afternoon meeting and received three applications for membership.

Fraternally,
A. Leach.
Phoenix, Ariz., April 25.

"JAY GEORGE," THE CONVICTED MAIL ROBBER.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—In regard to your Letter Box answer in the Sunday People, April 23, that you did not know "Jay George." Well, perhaps you don't, but you do know a thing or two about F. G. R. Gordon, the almighty sneak that I ever experienced, and who was dismissed from the mail service for robbing the mail, joined the Socialist Democratic party and turned Gompersite. The two are one and the same. He was writing under the name "Jay George" during the campaign of 1903; some of his owners had him in charge of a weekly slush in Haverhill then; he managed to get his stuff into most of the weekly papers of the State, among them being the Rockland "Independent." I fought him to a standstill.

Something about his style seemed familiar. I tried several times to wheedle the editor into telling me who he was but failed. Putting some trifles together I finally came to the conclusion that it was "Alphapeth Gordon," and I afterwards verified it by the editor. I gave her some of his history and she admitted that his appearance and way of acting instead of contradicting my story very largely corroborated it.

I think I can, if necessary, get a written statement from the editor of the "Independent," affirming the above.

A Friend.
Abington, Mass., April 25.

WHO NEXT?

To the Daily and Weekly People.—The Milwaukee Journal of April 15 has the following bit of interesting news:

"MAYOR IS SUPPORTED BY THE SOCIALISTS"

"Why did Socialist aldermen vote for Stanley E. Czerwinski for public works commissioner?"
"It's the first time since they have

been in the council that they have voted with the mayor. None but City Comptroller Peter Pawinski seemed able to explain.

"Ald. Melms made inquiries in the Eleventh and Fourteenth wards and found there was practically no opposition to Czerwinski, and that he was a desirable man," he said. "Therefore, they decided to vote for him."

"Mr. Czerwinski said he knew of no reason, and that he had not seen a Socialist alderman."

"Others ascribe the change of front of the 'reformers,' as the Socialists are called in the city hall, to a political deal. What it is they do not know."

The Social Democrats who have been elected to the common council pledged themselves to work for the best interests of the people. Now, the newly appointed commissioner of public works, S. Czerwinski, is a druggist. He, of course, may be the best of men, but the position to which this dispenser of drugs has been appointed, with the aid of the Social Democratic council members, is one which should have been given to some one more familiar with the work pertaining to such an important place. Evidently, in this sense, the enthusiasts of Victor Berger have a strange, a very strange, conception indeed of how to advance and guard the best interests of the people.

It does not need to be explained here, it is too well known, even by the least informed, that no person will ever be appointed or favored with an office unless he be able to exercise political influence—he must be a political boss through whose efforts the party or person who stands at its head has been aided to political prominence. The same is true with regard to our newly appointed commissioner of public works, S. Czerwinski. If Mr. Czerwinski had not been a close political friend of our Democratic mayor, Rose, a "shrewd" politician, one who knows when and how to draw votes for the Democratic party, he would never have been appointed to his present position. Now, for this man, who is totally unqualified to serve as a member of the board of public works, for this politician, for this admirer of Rose, for this Democratic politician—the Social Democratic members in the common council cast their ballots!

It is but a few weeks ago that Mr. Berger advised the people to vote for a Democratic judge; now all Social Democratic members of the common council, including Mr. Heath, editor-in-chief of the Social Democratic Herald, voted for a Democrat. Wonder for whom or what they will vote next time? We will let the readers of The People know in due time.

May the heavens have mercy on them—we cannot!

H. B.
Milwaukee, Wis., April 20.

ELECTRIC FUNERALS.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—In regard to the displacement of funeral coach drivers and hackmen by electrically propelled funeral cars, incidentally referred to in your paragraphs dealing with electrical developments, in the Daily People of April 13, I may be permitted to state, for the information of your readers, that the United Railroads of San Francisco are fast absorbing the funeral business to the San Mateo County cemeteries, and with good reason. The distance to the city from the cemeteries is nine miles, over, in winter, as a muddy road as is to be found anywhere in the country (which is saying a good deal, for America is far behind military ridden Europe in respect to public highways).

The funeral cars are elegantly upholstered and can be hired, so I am informed, for \$50. The journey is made swiftly, neither is the funeral held up by the rapacious wayside publicans who give dinner gratis to the hack drivers for bringing custom to these houses. Two new cemeteries in the course of construction (the Masonic and the Odd Fellows) are being provided with a car track encircling their entire grounds.

Thus, on every hand, we find economic pressure becoming heavier. And the funeral coach drivers and hackmen who, on a sunny day have a really good thing in the funeral business, will soon find themselves in the position of Othello—their occupation gone.

Ernest Lemmon.
Colma, Cal., April 18.

TARRYTOWN ORGANIZED.

A branch of Section Westchester County, Socialist Labor Party, was organized at Tarrytown, on Saturday, April 22, and the following officers were elected:—Organizer, James Kruger; recording secretary, James Craig; financial secretary-treasurer, Sam Gross. It was decided to hold regular meetings the second and fourth Fridays in the month, the place of meeting to be announced by the organizer in the Party organ.
R. K.

VOLCANIC RUMBLINGS

[From the April 12th issue of the Helena, Mont., "Montana News", and the April 22nd issue of the Milwaukee, Wis., "Social Democratic Herald", organs of the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party.]

At the same time, I must say that there is no other country where comparatively so many ignorant people pose as editors and leaders of the Socialist movement as in the Socialist party of America. And there is not another civilized country which has produced so few great characters in the Socialist movement. Our movement lacks individuality. It is simply an imitation of the sectarian period of the German movement.—(Social Democratic Herald)

All they want is hollow phrases, impotent nagging, and mutual admiration. And before all things they want party jobs—jobs as organizers, editors, etc. For as a rule they are born "failures" and they would be failures under any kind of a social system.—(Social Democratic Herald)

We don't blame Comrade Simons of Chicago for being vexed with himself at having gotten mixed up in the movement to produce untold division and consequent dissipation of energy in the national trade union field, but we do object to his venting his anger on the Milwaukee Socialist movement, simply because some of us have opposed him. His charge that people of intellectual ability are purposely kept out of the Milwaukee movement is a gratuitous insult to that movement, and we demand either a bill of particulars or an apology.—(Social Democratic Herald.)

OSBORNE'S RECORD.

California "Socialist" Organizer Self-Confessed Anarchist.

To whom it may concern: Section Chicago has received three letters from California, inquiring about the record of Mr. Osborne, the blind orator. As the undersigned members of Section Chicago have had experience with the above named individual, we have decided to furnish the readers of The People with his biography from Colorado:

"In the summer of 1899, Carl Browne arrived in Denver as an organizer for the American Sovereign Citizens (a new Coxey movement), and took up collections for same. Mr. Osborne appeared upon the scene and after the withdrawal of Carl Browne, continued to take up collections for the American Sovereign Citizens, an organization that existed on paper only.

The next move of Osborne's was in company with two well-known crooks in putting up an "Independent-Socialist ticket", with the names of the Silver Republican candidates on it. Mr. Osborne admitted later that he did not get all of his Judas' money for the ticket. One of his partners in that transaction is dead; the other one, named Niel, is now in Kansas City, and was a delegate to the so-called Socialist party convention in Chicago a year ago, from Kansas. We met him in Chicago at the time. Section Denver, Socialist Labor Party, had a lot of circulars distributed at the time, showing up that crooked trio.

The next we heard of Osborne was when he went as a delegate to the Populist convention. After his return from that convention, Mr. Osborne appeared upon the streets of Denver, making a "Socialist" talk, and after having gathered a crowd, advertised some cigar store on Sixteenth street.

Then Mr. Osborne left Denver, as we were told, for Portland, where he, in company with some one else, started a "Socialist" paper. The paper did not last long and Osborne returned to Denver. He had now become totally blind. He could from that time be found on the streets of Denver talking for the so-called Socialist party. But one thing he never forgot at his meetings, and that was to take up a collection for his own benefit.

In the campaign preceding the county election in Arapahoe County, in 1901, Section Denver, Socialist Labor Party, held an open air meeting, corner of Sixteenth and Arapahoe streets. After the meeting had been in progress about thirty minutes, a medicine fakir drew up in the crowd and began to sing and howl. At the same time upon the scene appeared a blue-coated minion of the law, who ordered Comrade W. Fowler, who was speaking for the Socialist Labor Party, to move on, as the fakir, who was known as the multi-coco fakir, had a permit for that corner. Fowler refused to comply, as nobody had a right to issue permits. The Socialist Labor Party already had carried that point to the courts and had got a decision de-

claring that ordinance unconstitutional. The multi-coco fakir then announced that "we will now have a little Socialism from this carriage" and Osborne stepped into the carriage to talk, for which he received five dollars from the fakir.

At this time the patrol wagon arrived and the police placed Comrade Fowler under arrest. Comrade Mullin then took the stand to speak. He was also arrested. Mr. Hurwitz then took the stand: he was thrown down by the police. Comrade C. Starkenberg got on the stand: he was placed under arrest. Comrade Hurwitz again took the stand: he was placed under arrest—and so was the stand. Osborne and the multi-coco fakir were left in possession of the crowd. This was Saturday night. On Monday morning in court a postponement was obtained to the following Thursday, at which time several members of the so-called Socialist party appeared as witnesses for the police; among them was Osborne. He testified that he had been speaking at that corner for several weeks and that he opened up at 7.30, and that he turned the crowd over to the multi-coco fakir at 8 o'clock.

Upon being cross-examined, Osborne said that the Socialist Labor Party members had bothered him constantly at his meetings. The Socialist Labor Party attorney asked: "How did they bother you?"
Osborne—"By asking questions."
Socialist Labor Party Attorney—"Don't you call for questions at your meetings?"
O.—"Yes."

S. L. P. At.—"Why do you call for questions if you don't want people to ask you any?"
O.—"It is not the questions that I object to; it is the insinuations they throw at me."

S. L. P. At.—"Do you know Cleckner and Niel?"
O.—"Yes; but why bring them in here? One is dead and the other has left the city."

S. L. P. At.—"Did you not put up an independent Socialist ticket with the Silver Republican candidates' names on it?"
O.—"Yes."

S. L. P. At.—"And they beat you out of fifty dollars after doing that job?"
O.—"No; they paid me later."

S. L. P. At.—"Do you know Emma Goldman?" (objections by prosecuting attorney.)
S. L. P. At.—"Your Honor, I want to show that this man is posing as a Socialist and that he is nothing but a rehandened Anarchist." (The Court: Objection overruled.)

O.—"Yes."

S. L. P. At.—"Did you ever speak from the same platform with Emma Goldman?"

O.—"Yes."

S. L. P. At.—"Where?"

O.—"I acted as chairman at a meeting held at 1820 Champa street, and at a meeting held corner of Arapahoe and Sixteenth streets in Denver."

Some time after the above incident we found Mr. Osborne in company with a Mr. Martin, publishing a so-called Socialist paper. Rumor had it that it

was a well-paying business, as only one or two issues appeared. Mr. Martin was an expelled member of the Socialist Labor Party, who had the habit of borrowing money from the members and forgetting to pay it back. He became organizer for the so-called Socialist party the same week he was expelled from the Socialist Labor Party,

are pure and simpler first, Socialists afterwards.

L. K., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Halliday's quotations from Marx are substantially misquotations—especially the first and third. In no science, especially one requiring synthetical thought can a single passage be taken out of a long reasoning. In that way, the word "labor" appears misquoted. The way to interpret an author is to harmonize him throughout. Halliday's quotations would leave the term "labor-market" an unmeaning thing.

But his attitude is still more sinful. We would not say that because Marx says a thing, it is therefore so; because he says it, it deserves careful consideration: that is as far as one should go. But Halliday starts from the premises that Marx is right, and forthwith he dumps Marx. The statement that the "Working Class is robbed of all that it produces" is a denial of Marx: it repudiates the very chapter from which he quotes and in which Marx expressly states that the laborer sells his labor-power: one cannot "sell" and yet get "nothing." But the most sinful feature of Halliday's reasoning appears in his getting around the "selling" point by saying that the worker gets a "pittance." That is a natural result of his false premises. The getting of a "pittance" leaves wholly unexplained the law that governs the size of the pittance: labor-power is thereby taken from the category in which Marx puts it—and confusion and light must be the result.

The Marxian principle is right: labor-power is a merchandise: as such it has an owner: as such it has a value in exchange, and consequently a price: as such its owner (the workingman) receives the price of his goods, under the same economic law that underlies the prices of all other goods: the Working Class consists of units of workingmen: as such it is an absurdity to say that the Working Class is robbed of all that it produces, and the absurdity is all the greater coming from one who claims to hold to Marx.

Fr. R., NEWARK, N. J.—The \$1 was duly appreciated and passed over to the National Executive Committee for the General Agitation Fund, under which head you will find receipt acknowledged.

T. H., RACINE, WIS.—No—the "A. M. Simons, Editor" string of mendacious stupidities did not contain the stupid mendacity that De Leon's name is or was Loeb. That will come next month, we suppose.

D. V. P., LOUISVILLE, KY.—Why, Gompers passed over to Parry, don't you know? In the April Federationist he glories about the "complete victory" in the case of the capmakers strike. The victory was won by the bosses who enforced and rubbed in the "open shop." Is not that Parryism enough for anybody?

A. G. B., DETROIT, MICH.—Referred to Business Mateo.

E. L., SAN MATEO, CAL.—There is no truth in Philip V. Danahy's statements, concerning the treatment he received at this office. It was a case of birds of a feather flocking together when he went over to the Kangaroos.

J. H. H., CHICAGO, ILL.—Therein lies the importance of history. Without its knowledge one falls into the error of imagination that as things are they always have been—a necessary error for usurpation.

TO PARTY MEMBERS AND FRIENDS OF ALL COUNTRIES.—Forward preambles and constitutions of your Unions. A full set is wanted at this office.

A. E. J., SOUTHAMPTON, ENG.; M. D. F., DORCHESTER, MASS.; S. S. M., HARTFORD, CT.; D. S., ANN ARBOR, MICH.; P. V., ROANOKE, VA.; F. P. J., INDIANAPOLIS, IND.; F. R., BOSTON, MASS.; A. M., FITCHBURG, MASS.; J. C. B., DENVER, COLO.; C. M., CLEVELAND, O.; N. V. O., COLUMBUS, O.; W. A. H., TAMMOC, WASH.; P. F., BROOKLYN, N. Y.; H. S. J., WHITESTONE, N. Y.; W. E. K., NEW ORLEANS, LA.; E. L. ALBANY, N. Y.; N. M. H., JERSEY CITY, N. J.; P. R. H. W., MT. VERNON, N. Y.; J. J. C., HAYES, SO. DAK.; R. K., MONTREAL, CANADA; T. S., BRUSSELS, BELGIUM; J. H., NEW YORK—Matter received.

at a salary of ten dollars per week, and later State secretary at a salary of twenty-five dollars per month.

We are not familiar with the history of Mrs. Lena Lewis, nee Morrow.

C. Starkenberg.
H. A. Nielsen.
Chicago, Ill., April 19.

LETTER-BOX OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

[NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.]

"X. Y., NEW YORK.—It will make no difference whatever, whether United States Senators are elected direct by the people or not. The Senators are no more the tools of capitalism, and corrupt, then the members of the House of Representatives, and the latter are elected direct by the people. There are no books upon the subject—except the works on Socialism that prove that not the form but the essence of government must be seen to. Under capitalism, whatever the form, the government must be the rotten thing that it is.

S. Y. L., TOLEDO, O.—First. There are several tests. One is the quantity and quality of the literature (the press, in short) of the two parties. By that test the Socialist Labor Party is away ahead of the "Socialist" party.

Second. The Socialist Labor Party is infinitely stronger than its vote. The "Socialist" party is prodigiously weaker than its vote. Resolved into a standard of votes the relative strength of the two parties would be about this:

Socialist Labor Party...200,000 votes.

"Socialist" party.....10,000 votes.

T. H., HELENA, MONT.—The fatty degeneration of the moral nature of the capitalist class justifies the expectation of any and all acts of baseness on its part. At the same time the Spirit of the Age lames its capacity for evil, somewhat.

W. H. F., MADISON, WIS.—A lie does not become a truth if presented in statistical garb. All the tests applicable to the case show that, absolutely and relatively, the share of Labor in the wealth it produces declines. It can be no otherwise. Wages are the price of Labor. Labor is a commodity with which the Labor Market is ever more overstocked. That, in itself, is sufficient to lower the price (wages). But wages sink still lower because the owner of the merchandise labor power, being himself part and parcel of his merchandise, adjusts himself to the ever lowering standard, thereby lowering its theoretic exchange value.

W. S., NEW YORK.—The Business Manager informs us that your name was given in for a three-months' trial sub. You will be put on the regular mailing list, as requested.

M. B., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—The last number of the paper called "The Chief" was printed on the Daily People plant on February 18—fully a month before the strike on the Interborough. When the "Volkszeitung" says that "The Chief" was printed here during the strike it simply lies.

J. B., KALAMAZOO, MICH.—Drop Aveling, and take up Marx himself.

F. F., CINCINNATI, O.—Yes, indeed; the John P. Weigel, who was put in Trautman's place as Editor of the "Brauer Zeitung" is the old Elizabeth, N. J., Weigel who kangarooed because the Socialist Labor Party would not tolerate political corruption. There is a typical joke about the worthy. He ran for Alderman on one occasion in a ward where there were many Italians. Thereupon he changed his name, and on the handbills which he circulated he appeared as "Giovanni Wagaloni"!!!!

S. B. M., PAWTUCKET, R. I.—That is not the way to pin Bishop Stang. This is the way: According to the canons of the church, the Pope is infallible only when he utters himself "ex cathedra." Now, then, if Socialism is so unspeakably bad, and such a threat to everything that is good, why does not the Pope condemn it "ex cathedra"? Why limit himself to utterances, which, not being "ex cathedra," proceed upon the theory that he might be mistaken?—Ask Bishop Stang that.

C. W., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—No doubt about it. But for the obscene interests of the Volkszeitung Corporation, there never would have been a split in the Socialist Labor Party. The corporation sacrificed the interests of Socialism to its private interests and malice. But things are straightening nicely.

F. O., NEW YORK.—Just as above, and you know it.

T. G., NEW YORK.—Neither Max Hayes nor Ben Hanford ever raised his voice against their Union's outrage in voting down an anti-militia resolution at the national convention. They both need their Unions for side jobs; they

was a well-paying business, as only one or two issues appeared. Mr. Martin was an expelled member of the Socialist Labor Party, who had the habit of borrowing money from the members and forgetting to pay it back. He became organizer for the so-called Socialist party the same week he was expelled from the Socialist Labor Party,

